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ABSTRACT

A framework for studying educational institutions is presented and used to analyze girls' high schools in Japan from 1899 to 1928. The framework is based on understanding of the interactions among the role of the school or institution, individual personalities, the nature and extent of technological development, and biological systems (the dimension created by crossing individual and collective realities). A case study is presented of how this framework can be applied to an educational system--in this case, the schools authorized in Japan by the Higher Girls School Law of 1899. Dimensions used to analyze these schools include: (1) historical background (corresponds to the biological dimension--specifically, a comparison of a school's history and development with the development of an individual from birth through the senior citizen stage), (2) educational aims (corresponds to the role system), (3) family background of students (corresponds to the technological and economic development dimension), and (4) motivation of students to attend a higher girls school (corresponds to the personality dimension). Findings from the application of this framework to analysis of the higher girls schools indicated that the major school objective was to teach girls to be good wives and mothers. In addition, most girls who graduated from higher girls schools married men with higher education degrees; a high percentage of girls came from families headed by fathers in government and commercial positions or in the field of medicine. Finally, most of the students were highly motivated to continue their education to the higher girls school level (the highest level available to females during the time period under study) because they had performed well in primary school and were encouraged by parents and teachers to continue. (DB)

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An Educational Research Framework Applied to a Secondary School in Japan

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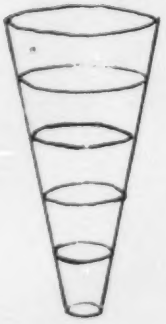
This paper will, first, present briefly thoughts on educational institutions which will serve as a framework in a comparative study of educational institutions in general, and secondly, this framework will then be applied to secondary schools for girls in Japan in the early twentieth century when the national unity of Japan reached its fullness.

I. A Framework

The basis of establishing an educational institution must be performances actually made by individuals. When an individual performs repeatedly the same pattern concerning his or her education, it becomes his habit. When this same pattern is repeated, however, not only by an individual but also by a group of people, the pattern becomes folkways, custom, mores or an institution, according to the degree to which this performance pattern is crystallized as such in the community. Thus education as folkways, custom, mores or an institution comes into existence.

Figure 1 Educational System and Performance



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In eras or countries where the educational system as an institution is not yet fully established, the educational system as folkways, custom and mores often plays an important role in the life of the people. Even if the educational system is institutionalized, these styles of education exist at the same time, and work in accordance with it, or sometimes adversely against it. Investigation is apt to be made only about the institutional education because of the facility of getting materials, but education as folkways, custom and mores should not be neglected, especially when the developing countries are discussed.

In each stage of the crystallization, members of the group are compelled to follow a particular performance pattern whenever the same situation occurs. If a member does not follow it, some kind of sanction is given to make him follow it. In the folkways stage where the crystallization is weakest, the sanction is also weak: for example, it is given by speaking ill behind one's back, or by shrugging of shoulders. As the crystallization becomes more solid, the sanction, and also the molding of a performance into a particular pattern, become more severe.

When it is at its most solid stage, the pattern is called an educational institution, the content of which is rationally considered and systematically organized. It is regulated by a written law and, once established, cannot vanish or be changed easily. The kind of sanction given against a certain deviance and the steps which the sanction follows are also clearly detailed.

The name of "koto jo gakko" or higher girls' school, which will be discussed at this point, was first used in Japan in 1882. This name was found in law for the first time in 1891. The school of this name was institutionalized in 1899, when the Higher Girls' School Law was promulgated. However, as this education was not regulated as compulsory, there were no institutional sanctions for non-attendance. This law laid down the basic characteristics of secondary school education for girls in Japan until 1947.

At the base of institutional development, there is a selection of performance by individuals. When many individuals select a performance, an educational institution related to that performance comes into existence; and conversely, when individuals cease to select that performance, the institution ceases to exist any longer. For example, when many people choose to go to a certain kind of school, that kind of school can exist in a certain era, and if they do not want to go there, the type of school ceases to exist or at least changes character in order to obtain greater attendance.

Table 2 shows how many students attended the higher girls' school from 1882 to 1949. This paper, however, will discuss only the first

major period of development of this type of school, between 1899 and 1928 when it attracted an increasing number of students.

Table 2 Number of Students Attending Higher Girls' Schools

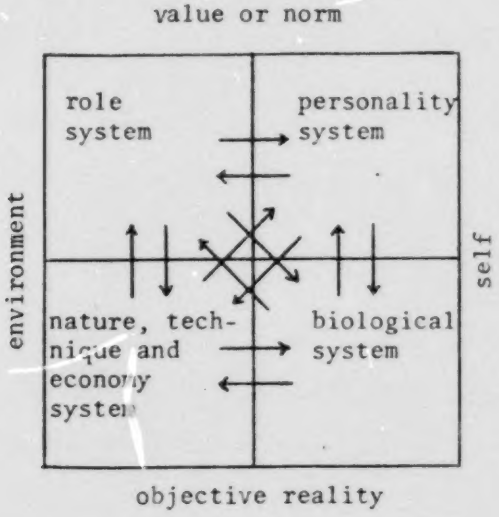
Year		Year		Year	
1882	286	1901	14671	1926	290043
	450		18176		306696
	590		21687		323123
	616		23854		331661
			26756		334023
1886	898				
	2363	1906	30362	1931	329802
	2599		34735		330570
	3274		40869		340982
	3120		46144		356944
			50372		376744
1890	2768				
	2803	1911	54765	1936	395617
	3020		59476		416144
	2314		63326		439060
	2276		66210		469182
			69493		506943
1896	3305				
	3351	1916	73734	1941	562634
	7154		78970		617375
	7446		86368		745820
	9861		96656		806474
			115859		824241
		1921	144975	1946	931004
			175232		349600
			207332		2779
			237498		34
			26[illegible]32		

As already mentioned, a selection of performance by individuals is the basis of establishing an institution. What, then, influences individuals' decisions to select or not to select a particular performance? There are two contradictory factors involved: "self" versus "environment", and "value" or "norm" versus "objective reality".

The dimension made by crossing "value" and "self" is the personality system. When the personality system is observed collectively, it becomes

a national character. The dimension made by crossing "self" and "objective reality" is the biological system. The demographic structure of a nation is an example of the biological system observed collectively. The dimension made by crossing "objective reality" and "environment" forms the nature, technique and economy system. In the dimension made by crossing "value" and "environment" lies the role system.

Figure 3 Factors Influencing the Selection of Performance, and therefore, the Establishment of an Educational System



The arrows show the direction of the influence

These four systems are constantly being reformed through the influences of one on another. For example, the wishes of human beings (how society wishes a person to be -- the role system) have encouraged many medical techniques (the nature, technique and economy system) to develop, among which is the technique of birth control. The technique of birth control has changed the length of the pregnant period of the woman's life (the biological system). It has altered her way of thinking and her wishes about her life (the personality system). Furthermore it has changed the roles expected of a woman by other people (the role system). These inter-influences among systems can be observed also in the opposite direction, as mentioned above.

These four dimensions influence the selection of performance by individuals; for example, even if a girl wished to go to a higher girls' school (the personality system), but was not healthy enough (the biological system), or if a higher girls' school was not in the vicinity of her residence (the nature, technique and economy system), or if her parents did not think it worth while to let her go to school (the role system), her performance of attending school might not have occurred. Thus whether a certain selection of performance actually occurs, or not, depends upon how these four dimensions balance one another.

As long as these four dimensions lie at the basis of selection of performance concerning education, an educational institution, and also an educational system as folkways, custom and mores (both of which are established as an accumulation of performances by individuals), can be influenced; and thus, can be explained by the same four dimensions.

Furthermore, when an attempt is made to elucidate the existence and character of an educational institution, a comparative method is often used. A comparison of educational institutions of different countries or different districts - a horizontal comparison - forms a field called comparative education. A comparison of the educational system in one period of a country with that in another period of the same country - a vertical comparison - forms a field called history of education. In these two fields of education, a comparison may be made in each of the four above mentioned dimensions; personality system, role system, biological system and nature, technique and economy system. This paper proposes, therefore, that when the educational institution (also the educational system as folkways, custom and mores) is considered, these four above stated dimensions which support it should also be kept in mind.

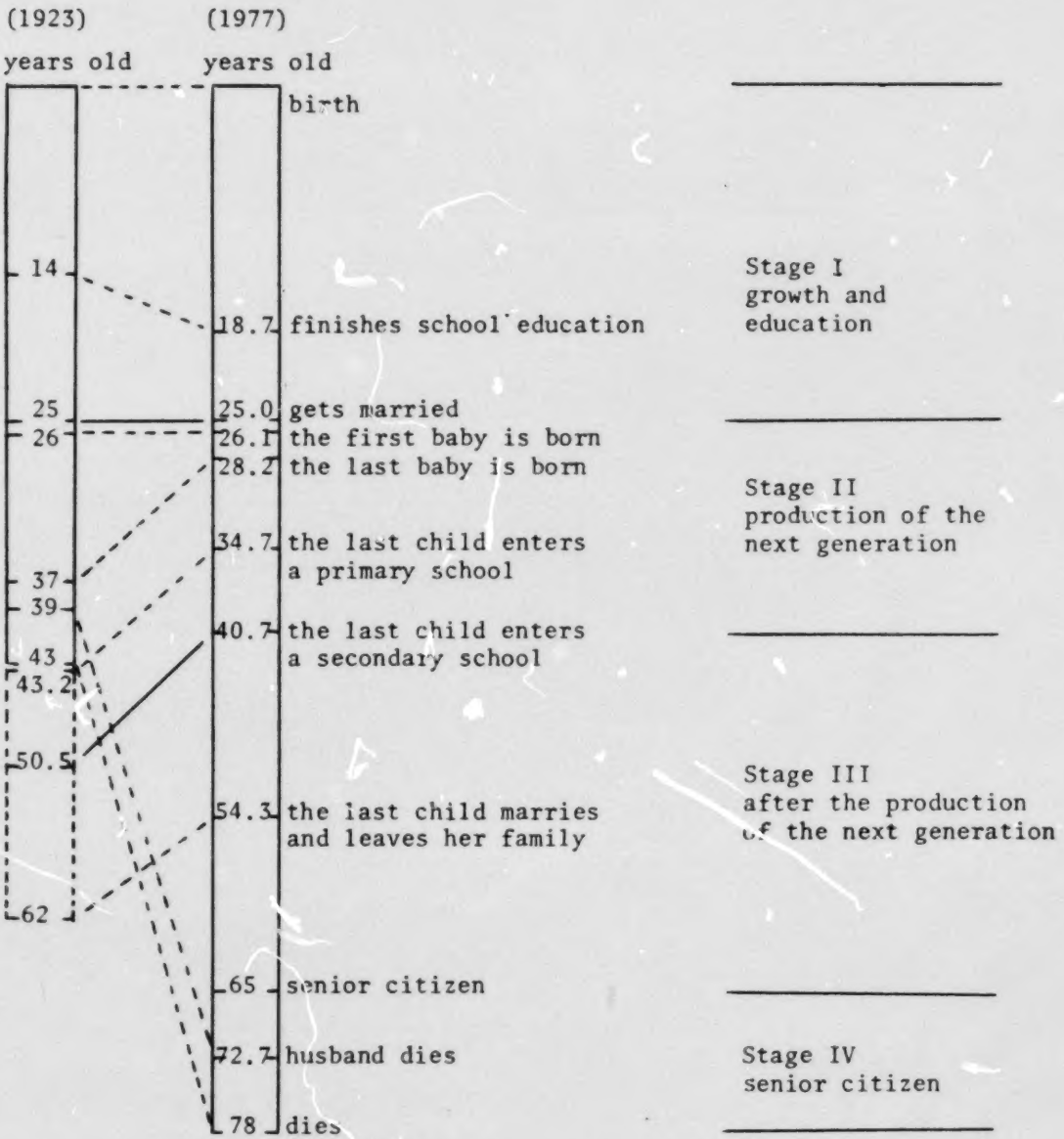
At this point in the following sections the secondary schools for girls in Japan in the early twentieth century will be considered. Its character will be examined from the four dimensions already mentioned. In so doing, however, only the conspicuous features of each dimension will be discussed.

II. Historical Background (from the Biological System)

Living in the present, one is apt to see and judge life from the present viewpoint, just as one is also apt to see and judge the life style of foreign countries from the viewpoint of one's own country. To understand something that happened in a certain historical period or in a foreign country, one must, therefore, sometimes change one's basic viewpoint to suit the age or the country in question. The

example given in Figure 4 happens to be based on the biological dimension.

Figure 4 Life Cycle



The life cycle of an average Japanese woman at the present time as seen from statistics is divided into four stages:

1. the stage when she is growing up, receives education and develops herself;

2. the stage when she gives her considerable energy to producing and rearing the next generation;

3. the stage when she is free from reproduction; and

4. the stage as a senior citizen.

If actual ages are applied very roughly to these four stages, the first stage of her own growth and development continues from birth till she becomes 25.0 years old and marries. The second stage lasts for 15.7 years from her marriage till her last child enters the secondary school when she is 40.7 years old. The third stage starts then and lasts for 24 years till she becomes a senior citizen at the age of 65. The fourth stage as a senior citizen continues for 13 years.

Let us examine the life cycle of an average woman who lived in the period under discussion. A female child was born. An average girl went to school, roughly calculated, until she became 14 years old. She married at the age of 25, about the same age as at present; she bore, however, 5 babies in her life time, in contrast to 2 babies for the present-day woman. That means, she bore her last baby shortly before her husband's life ended when she became 39 years old. She herself died 4 years later at the age of 43.2. She died, therefore, before her last child even went to the primary school.

What meaning does this have for the life cycle? It means that her life finished before she reached the end of the second stage of the life cycle. Most of the women at that time did not know the third and the fourth stages of the life cycle which present-day women enjoy.

The author would like to emphasize that the life of a woman of this earlier period terminated long before she reached the end of the second stage. If her life cycle is compared to that of the modern woman, she dies at the stage which the modern woman in Japan, and presumably also in most industrial countries, reaches at the age of 35 (the age when her last child begins to go to primary school). When the early history of higher girls' schools in Japan is discussed, this fact should be kept in mind.

III. Educational Aims of the Higher Girls' Schools (from the Role System)

As already mentioned, the higher girls' school was institutionalized with the enactment of the Higher Girls' School Law in 1899. Previous to the enactment of the law, a great many discussions were going on about girls' education and higher girls' schools.

An examination of about 30 papers published a couple of years before the enactment of this law indicates that the most popular image for girls expressed as an educational aim was "kembo ryosai", which translated literally means "wise mother, good wife". In this expression it is observed that both the role of mother and the role of wife were expected of the future woman.

When the life cycle of a woman 60 years ago was investigaged, it was proved that the women's life finished in the middle of the second stage, that is, in the midst of child rearing; in order words, she dies as wife and especially as a mother who was most needed. It is not hard to understand that people at that time considered that the woman's ultimate ideal was to become a wise mother, while being a good wife, and that education for girls should aim for this ideal.

In taking "wise mother, good wife" as the educational objective for girls, papers mentioned above indicate the following logical pattern of thought: In order that the nation prosper, able manpower is required. In order to get able manpower, good home education is indispensable, especially from early childhood. In order to give children good education at home, mothers play an important role and should, therefore, be wise in the care of children. In order to get wise mothers, much attention should be paid to the quality and extension of the education of girls.

With regard to the social strata which should be involved in this kind of girls' school, the papers under examination consider the following: The nation comprises three social classes: upper, middle and lower class, and it was expected that higher girls' schools would be attended by the middle and the upper classes.

The aristocrats and the very top people of the political, the commercial and the academic worlds belong to the upper class where not only husbands but also wives associated with the same class of people in Japan as well as in foreign countries. Those women who had such exceptional ability that they did not marry but worked in society themselves were thought to belong to this social stratum. In the lower class, people were so poor that not only men but also women had to engage in labour to sustain the household economy.

In the middle class, in most cases, the husbands' offices were separated from their dwellings. Therefore, husbands went to work in offices every day and wives stayed at home and devoted themselves only to their household and to child care. The separation of the household and the working place was a characteristic of this social class, which contrasted sharply with the other two classes. The image for girls expressed in the phrase "wise mother, good wife" harmonized with the middle class image.

The higher girls' school was expected to attended by girls who came from or were about to enter by marriage the middle and upper classes. The middle class was emphasized, however, because secondary education for girls had been the monopoly of the upper class until that time. It was intended that secondary schools should be expanded to include the middle class and this class was therefore discussed with emphasis.

When the discussions on the curriculum of the higher girls' schools are examined, it is noticed that the curriculum then in use was condemned in two points: 1) the contents were too sophisticated, and 2) they were too much upper class oriented. It was, therefore, requested that the curriculum be revised to be suitable for middle class ladies.

IV. Family Background of Students (from the Nature, Technique and Economy System)

Who, then, actually attended the higher girls' schools? Questionnaires were sent to thirteen hundred women who graduated from the higher girls' schools between 1899 and 1928. Four hundred and seventy questionnaires were returned in usable condition.

The results of these investigations were illustrated in the following charts. The second column of Table 5 shows in what industrial fields fathers of the students of higher girls' schools were engaged.

Table 5 Industrial Fields of Engagement and Main Streams of Mobility between the Generations (%)

	Business of family	Fathers		Husband		Sons
Agriculture and fishery	28.9	15.5	7.0	4.9		4.7
Mining industry	1.5	1.2		1.2		0.9
Construction	3.1	4.0		3.0		2.2
Manufacturing	7.8	7.9	8.2	12.5	5.1 5.7	13.5
Trade and commerce	21.4	21.9		20.1		18.1
Public utility	0.6	3.0	10.9	7.9	6.6	7.7
Service	21.4	26.4	6.4 4.9	33.4	15.8	35.5
Government business	15.2	17.9	4.2	17.0	6.0	17.4

Cramer's V=0.23511 Cramer's V=0.14109

When it is remembered that in Japan more than 53.6% of the population were engaged in primary industries in 1920 and about a half (48.3%) were still engaged in this field in 1945, it is amazing that only a small percentage of fathers of the students of the higher girls' schools were engaged in the fields of agriculture and fishery.

When the third column, the industrial fields in which the husbands were working, is observed, it is noticed that the graduates of the higher girls' schools had a tendency to avoid marrying a man who worked in the agricultural field. They chose instead to marry a husband working in secondary and tertiary industries.

After 1950 the industrial structure of Japan as a whole changed rapidly from primary industries to secondary and tertiary industries, but among families interested in sending their daughters to higher girls' schools, this change occurred long before the total structure of the country had begun to change. In this sense these families were leading the nation.

Table 6 shows in what occupations these men were engaged in secondary and tertiary industrial fields. The graduates of the higher girls' schools married technocrats and/or men engaged in management, in secondary and tertiary industries which were about to expand.

Table 6 Selected Occupations (%)

	Fathers	Husbands	Sons
Scientists	0.3	1.5	
Engineers	1.8	3.6	8.5
Medical specialists	6.7	5.8	6.0
Judicial specialists	2.4	1.8	
Licensed accountants	0.3	0.6	
Teachers	7.0	12.8	15.1
Religious leaders	1.8		
Journalists	0.6		
Artists	0.3		
Musicians	0.6		
Government managers	10.7	10.3	6.8
Company managers	9.7	21.9	23.1
Other managers	5.2		
Clerical workers	4.9	8.5	16.8
Sales workers, shop owners	17.6	10.9	3.1
Agricultural workers	10.3		
Fishers	0.3		
Military, land owners	7.3	5.2	
No occupation	2.7		

Cramer's V=0.37083 Cramer's V=0.25943

48.3% of husbands finished university, 22.1% other kinds of higher education, and 22.6% finished only secondary education. 6.8% married husbands who did not reach the end of secondary school. When it is remembered that even in 1960 only 8.6% of the total male population in Japan received some kind of higher education, and 20.8% secondary education, it can be seen that the educational standard of these husbands was extremely high.

The wives, therefore, together with their husbands, formed the newly emerging social stratum where husbands worked in occupations which required knowledge and techniques obtained through education. Because their occupations required skill and ability achieved through education, the position of the husbands could not be transferred directly to the wives or to the sons. In these occupations wives could not assist their husbands except to make it possible for their husbands to concentrate solely on their occupation without being interrupted by family matters. Just at this time the economic development in Japan needed more and more persons equipped with such techniques and knowledge obtained through education. Therefore, wives were educated to be the keeper of the household, executing absolute power within a house, while husbands were freed from worry about matters within the family. The educational policy of training wives in such a way that Japan could utilize to the limits the small amount of educated manpower which the nation possessed at that time, matched the age.

Besides the industrial and occupational mobility of families of the graduates from the higher girls' school, their geographical mobility can also be observed. Their mobility rate was very high compared with that of the rest of the Japanese population. Approximately half of the girls who graduated from the higher girls' schools lived in the same districts in later life as they had come from. They were freed from the traditions of the district, but because they were free from tradition, they had to have some other guideline for their way of life. Many graduates report that this guideline was given at higher girls' schools. The curriculum there was regulated by the prescriptions of the Educational Minister and those secondary schools for girls which deviated from the prescriptions were not allowed to be called "higher girls' schools". Also, although there was a choice of school textbooks, the content was examined and approved by the central government. Thus the government set the guideline of the new middle class mores.

The students learned at school how to manage a household, how to make clothes for the family and to keep them in order, how to cook, how to behave courteously, how to arrange special ceremonial occasions, how to write letters, how to speak standard formal Japanese, all of this suitable to their social stratum and acceptable all over Japan. Becuase so much energy was spent on these subjects (cf. Table 7), in later years there was considerable criticism of the low standards of the curriculum of the higher girls' schools, but it is also a fact

that many new ways of life, much new knowledge of and customs in cooking, clothing, manners on ceremonial occasions, and new ways of thinking were transmitted through the schools and spread all over Japan due to the mobility of the graduates.

Table 7 Time Distribution of each Subject in the Curriculum of the Executing Prescriptions of the Higher Girls' School Law, 1901

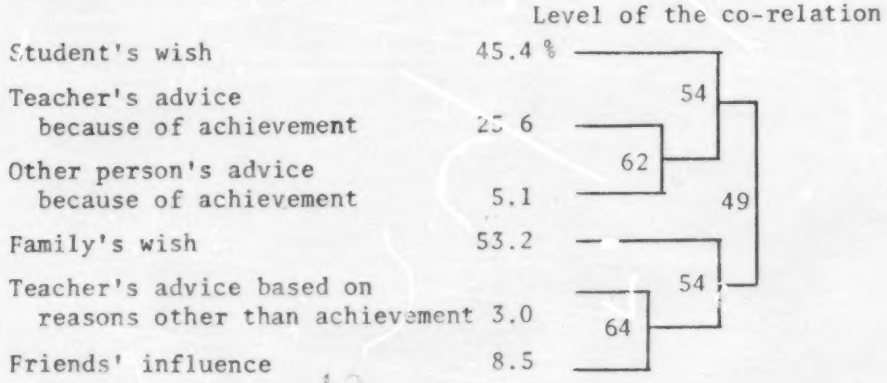
Moral education	7.1%
Japanese	19.6
Foreign language	10.2
Social sciences	9.8
Natural sciences	17.4
Home economics	20.1
Arts, music, gymnastics	17.9

As the essence of this life style was to curtail luxuries, it could be copied also by families in financially modest circumstances. A frequently observed phenomenon is that the norm of the upper class serves as a model to the lower class and spreads easily into the lower class, but the reverse phenomenon occurs rarely. Since graduates of the higher girls' schools formed, as already seen, the leading part of the social strata in the districts to which they moved, their customs were appreciated by and transmitted to the lower social strata of these districts. In this way rapid change and uniformity in the life style of Japan was achieved.

V. Motivation to Attend Higher Girls' Schools (from the Personality System)

How did students come to attend the higher girls' schools? In the questionnaires graduates were asked to check all the items that had served to motivate them to apply for a higher girls' school. Table 8 shows what percentage of girls chose each item and also how these items are related to one another, calculated by the cluster method. From this it is noticed that motivations are grouped into two clusters.

Figure 8 Motivation to Attend Higher Girls' School



One cluster of motives is that the student herself wanted to go to secondary school on the advice of teachers and other persons because her achievement at primary school was good. In other words good achievement in primary school along with the encouragement of teachers and other persons motivated her. This may be called a motive formed by achievement.

The second is a cluster of motivations which indicate that parents wished to send her to higher girls' school because friends also went and because teachers advised it for reasons other than for achievement. This may be called a motive formed by folkways.

How these two types of motives worked, differs according to the schools attended, the period of attendance and the occupation of parents. In early years motivation by achievement made a stronger impact. But as the years advanced and more girls came to attend higher girls' schools, it was replaced gradually by motivation by folkways. This replacement occurred very early in a big city in eastern Japan (Tokyo), and then in a big city in western Japan (Kyoto). In Tokyo many of the graduates have written: "It was already quite natural at my time for a girl to attend girls' school". But in Kyoto the nuance is a little different. They have written: "As my cousin went", or "as my sister went, it was natural for me to go there, too"; or, "It was natural for a girl from a family of our social status to go to higher girls' school". Kyoto is revealed to have been a society with a class structure.

In small cities where many of the parents were engaged in agriculture, motivation with achievement remained dominant for many years. Graduates write: "Parents were quite indifferent whether I went to secondary school or not. As I myself wanted to go, I applied". Many of them answered that their rank in achievement in primary school was the best or the second best among classmates. It seems, therefore, that teachers selected one or two of their best pupils and tried to send them to higher girls' schools. In these areas teachers played an important role in the formation of pupils' motivation to study further.